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OCI No. 1359/63

17 April 1963

**CURRENT INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM**

**SUBJECT: Orientation of Nkrumah Regime**

1. Ghana's vain and egocentric Kwame Nkrumah is driven by his dreams of primacy in a united Africa and of a world role as a leading figure among the nonaligned states. His ambitions have been fed in Ghana by adulation and attribution of almost divine virtues. He now seems convinced that the West is essentially hostile to his aspirations while the countries of the Bloc are his firm allies in the fight against "neocolonialism."

2. To achieve his goals, Nkrumah has tried to make himself the principal spokesman of anti-colonialism, and this has made for a strong ideological bond between him and the Bloc. Moreover, other short-term Communist aims frequently parallel his militant African nationalist line, and he has been flattered and pleased by Bloc attention. However, while he has a strong affinity for Socialist doctrines, as adapted to the African milieu, he is primarily concerned with advancing his own designs. He certainly believes he can use Bloc aid and support without becoming so tied to the Communists that he must take orders from them.

3. Nevertheless, Nkrumah's authoritarian regime provides a fertile field for Bloc meddling in Africa. In the past three years he has established important economic ties with Bloc countries, from which he has obtained approximately \$200 million worth of economic credits. He has also displayed an increasing tendency to support, in domestic propaganda and international meetings, Bloc positions on world issues when he has believed such positions to parallel his own interests. At the same time he has become progressively more suspicious of the West, notably the US.

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4. Nkrumah's present state of mind vis-a-vis the Bloc and the West is a product of experiences and events dating at least from his student days in the US and the UK. In his autobiography, published in 1957, he acknowledges being influenced at that time by the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin and proclaims himself a "Christian Marxist Socialist."

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Last month, in an interview given Pravda's Accra correspondent, Nkrumah stressed Ghana's close relationship and identification with the "Socialist" countries. However, the basic ingredient in the ideology of Nkrumahism is still adulation of Nkrumah and support for his personal objectives.

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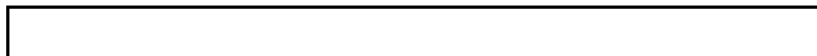
5. In part, Nkrumah's developing relations with the Bloc since Ghana became independent in 1957 are a function of his desire to obtain maximum aid and markets for his country and to demonstrate that he is really a nonaligned leader, free of any British colonial tutelage. They also stem in part from the multiple frustrations he has met in pursuing his pan-African ambitions. He has been strongly affected by the Congo episode, in which he sees Western financial interests in general and the US in particular as responsible for the collapse of the regime of his protégé, Lumumba. The Bloc's tangible gestures to Lumumba's heirs and to other radical African nationalists favored by Accra appear to have helped convince Nkrumah that the Bloc is really behind him and his grand design for a united Africa in which Ghana, transformed through Socialism, would be the leading power. Finally, the almost successful attempt on his life at Kulungugu last August contributed a major new impetus to Nkrumah's suspicions of the West, because he came quickly to the conclusion that the plot was Western backed.

6. The proliferation of ties with the Bloc has been paralleled by an augmented role within the Nkrumah regime for anti-Western leftist elements. Members of the coterie of pro-Communist advisers with whom he appears to be in closest communion these days manage the regime's press and

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radio. All of them owe their positions to Nkrumah's favor.

7. Nkrumah's deepening suspicions of the West have given rise to a barrage of anti-Western and specifically anti-US propaganda, much of it based on Bloc material. Favorite targets are CIA, the Peace Corps, and, most recently, American Negroes serving in Africa. All these are portrayed as instruments of US imperialist subversion aimed at undermining Ghanaian institutions and aspirations. Last January he tried unsuccessfully to force the removal of two Embassy officials for alleged improper conduct, and he continues to believe the two officers were involved with Ghanaian elements seeking his destruction. The US Embassy thinks he is genuinely afraid of covert US action against him; he recently told the [redacted] ambassador that he would "not stop fighting" CIA. Nkrumah apparently is confident that he will be able to forestall any drastic US reaction--such as a withdrawal of Volta project aid.

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8. Notwithstanding the current climate in Accra, we believe that Nkrumah, like Guinea's Sekou Touré, still could abruptly reorient his country's course if he chose to do so. Recognizing his need for Western development capital, he has consistently reserved a substantial area for the "private sector" in official expositions of economic policy. Moreover, he has retained and is influenced by a number of key pro-Western economic advisers. A liberal capital investment bill, which officials of the Kaiser corporation helped draft, was enacted by Nkrumah's pliant legislature this month, although he now seems to be temporizing over its implementation.

9. At the same time, Nkrumah has become increasingly dissatisfied with the Bloc aid program. Dismayed particularly by the heavy outlays of local currency required to utilize the Bloc equipment credits, he recently instructed his top economic aide to renegotiate all project agreements with Bloc countries.

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10. The regime press also can on occasion direct its invective against the "friendly Socialist countries." Bulgaria for a while came under sharp attack following the February clash in Sofia between African students and Bulgarian authorities. This month Czech and Polish newspapers have been taken to task for items regarded as derogatory to Africans. Earlier this year Nkrumah closed down the USSR information mission in Ghana while rejecting a proposal to take similar action against USIS.

11. Any major shift in Ghana's present orientation seems unlikely, however, unless Nkrumah should become persuaded that the Bloc has actively conspired against him. He probably feels confident of his ability to continue to play off the Bloc and the West and may well strengthen his ties with the Bloc still further. He will continue to be unresponsive to efforts to get him to halt press attacks--the main point of present frictions with the US--and to be basically distrustful and anti-pathetic toward the West and all it stands for.

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